

cite plenty of the Chiapas movement as an example of material *and* political autonomy. But he forgot one minor detail, which is that the Zapatistas did not buy their lands as the author did and promotes (via endowment funds, or tax breaks, see his article “*Property is abuse*”, in the January 2023 issue of *Silence!*), but that they took them and defended them by force of arms, i.e., they seized them through a *prior* period of violent rupture with the existent. And neglecting the fact that his beloved Zapatista movement later presented and supported candidates for the Mexican presidential elections, which makes us more than doubt the definition of the word “autonomy” in the author’s mouth.

For those who do not have “*the individualistic dream of being freed from constraints*,” they desire instead no less than a return to the land here and now, but without ever questioning the historical and civilizational role of agriculture in domination. And even more concretely, as a good pragmatist, Aurélien Berlan proposes in his last chapter to lead a real “*subsistence*” transition based on small communities. A transition that would concern both the material aspect (self-sufficiency, self-production and local ties) and the political aspect (general assembly, direct democracy, imperative and revocable mandate, search for consensus) by “*collectively taking power*”. And as the earth never lies, he also warns us against the temptation to “*demonize by purism any monetary relationship*”, because “*to reconnect with autonomy... implies not so much refusing on principle any market exchange as limiting its scope*” (p.179). Yes, the problem of the market would not be money, the commodity, value and all the rest, but would be first of all a question of scale, allowing the philosopher-gardener to reassure his readers on the fact that his proposal of subsistence “*is not so much opposed to the market as to the industrial supermarket of the*

*globalized economy*” (p. 164).

Having reached this point, and well aware of the many problems that can arise in his subsistence communities participating in “*the global struggle*”, Aurélien Berlan asks himself in conclusion how to maintain “*a culture of conflict that does not seek to escape from conflictuality...*” within them. He then shamelessly sketches the “*interesting path*” (p. 211) of what happened on the ZAD of Notre-Dame-des-Landes, citing the *Mauvaise Troupe* collective (one of the supporters of the sale of the ZAD to the small entrepreneurs of the struggle). This book then fell out of our hands one last time, and we definitely realized that we had not read *Land and Freedom*, but *Property and Authority*, written by a left-wing intellectual who has not even engaged in downward class mobility.



# STORM WARNINGS

*Anarchist bulletin  
for the social war*

.....  
# 59-60 – December 15 2022



| And if it was to  
begin again... |

The brooding clouds of autumn 2018 were not the most favorable for undertaking long walks. Yet it was during those rainy months, through spirited exchanges and discussions, hesitations and daydreams, that the idea of a regular anarchist bulletin finally coalesced. More than a magazine or a newspaper of agitation, we wanted to give life to what we called amongst ourselves, not without a bit of pride, a *combative paper*. It was the moment to launch something new, as earlier inspiration was giving way to a creeping sense of stagnation. The revolts and uprisings in Maghreb and the Middle East had just been drowned in blood, or had turned into civil wars with ever more contradictory contours. Several specific struggles against the structures of imprisonment or the nuclear industry - which had been a terrain of experiments with informal organizations, projectualities and agitation - were beginning to be exhausted. Waiting on yet another social movement to set the powder-keg alight was obviously not working. And

within the vast territorial struggle that was the ZAD of Notre-Dame-des-Landes, political and managerial logic were finally overwhelming the last offensive elements after years of conniving and conflict. It was within this context that we launched the first issue of this bulletin with the challenge to *begin again*. Not to sing the same refrain forever or to repeat the mistakes of the past, not to confine our gaze to the well-defined garden of the anarchist orthodoxy of the moment, but to explore the paths of new projectualities in a changing world, relying on the recent experiences of autonomous anarchist action in its many facets, trying to elaborate a more in-depth reflection.

It is with these requirements in mind that we have defended the potential of anarchist minority action, diffuse attacks, informal organization, affinity groups and autonomy, in times of relative calm, trouble (the Great Lockdown) and social revolt (the Yellow Vests). As we have researched and deep-



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## OCTOBER 2022

16/10, Toulouse (France). In Haute-Garonne, *fire cubes in solidarity* burn a camera in front of the police station of La Vache, in solidarity with the revolt in Iran. "*Bassidjis or national police, destroy the patriarchal militias!*", concludes the communiqué.

17/10, Meuse (France). *Saboteurs* claim the sabotage of the railroad between Nançois and Gondrecourt, using car jacks. This track is the one that has to be rehabilitated to bring material for CIGEO, the radioactive waste burial project in the Bure area.

17/10, Munich (Germany) Around 3:00 am, the windows of the Green party are broken in the district of Schwabing-West.

18/10, Cannet (France). In the Alpes-Maritimes, the window of the *Communist Party* office is smashed in the middle of the night.

18/10, Marseille (France). Eight urban cameras are set on fire during a coordinated action. "*Let's dismantle, sabotage and set fire to the infrastructures of video surveillance*", says the communiqué.

19/10, Lützerath (Germany) Three pumps of the open-cast lignite mine *Garzweiler 2* are set on fire. "*According to the motto 'deeds rather than words', we must take the protection of the environment and the climate into our*

ened our understanding of the evolution of domination, our attention has also increasingly been drawn to the technological advances that are radically changing social relations and fortifying the infrastructure of a terrible open-air prison, and to the irreversible devastation caused by industrialism. It wasn't long before engaging in these analyses - and above all recognizing the reality of the confrontation - opened our eyes to possible paths forward to rearming subversion, and led us to propose a method of action that is viable and adapted to the world around us: the sabotage of its logistical, energy and technological infrastructures.

This somewhat obstinate pursuit has undoubtedly led us, in the course of the reflections undertaken month after month during these last five years, to neglect certain points or to underestimate other notable developments of domination. This is an observation, rather than a regret, because we have always wanted to consider this bulletin as just *one contribution among others* in the maelstrom of theory and action, even when there were almost no regularly published anarchist publications that were not confined to the digital sphere. We made some additional choices more related to how this bulletin was written and distributed, in particular its strict anonymity, so that the bulletin could be developed among other instruments.

On the other hand - no need to bury our heads in the sand - we have also deliberately tried to break with certain habits, conventions and conditioned reflexes of the anarchist movement, or to put in the crosshairs what we consider to be its variously recycled corpses. For example, on the first point, this bulletin has dedicated little space to the "anti-repression" struggle. This is not because the fate reserved for these comrades leaves us indifferent, but because breaking through the repressive encirclement depends, in our view, more on a *projectuality that attacks and lucidly chooses its own terrain of action*, than by trying - let's admit it, often in vain - to return blows by staying exactly where the State wants us to be. As for the second point, anyone can see that we have not participated in the resurgence of obsolete concepts such as "class", "the bosses" or "the proletariat" that have proliferated lately within the international anarchist movement, nor the fantasies about the famed "oppressed popular masses" and its traditional victimizing procession, nor in the one-upmanship of so-called "identity politics".

Instead, we have tried to put forward questions that part of the movement tends to ignore in favor of more "classic" topics (racism, gentrification, social movements, marginalization): What projectuality warrants developing in the era of brutal

my), has been invaded by the emergence of mass media, and has been subjected to ever greater surveillance (by the computerization of all activities). On the last point, Berlan does not hesitate to use and abuse Edward Snowden's 2013 revelations about the NSA's worldwide collection of all telephone and computer communication metadata. A shock that seems to have traumatized him, unless it is intended to shock his democrat readership. Its extreme depiction was not enough to convince us, unless we completely confuse "private life" and "digital life" by considering this fusion a currently finalized totalitarianism, which does not seem to be the case yet.

Many of the arguments in this first chapter remain nevertheless convincing, starting with its central point on the liberal conception of freedom seen as deliverance, consisting above all in "*making others do what one would rather not do oneself, that is to say delegating tasks in order to be relieved of them*" (p.55). It is enough, for example, to think of exploitation, slavery or domesticity. This desire to be freed from the material burden of the daily life as well as the political burden bound to the social life, corresponds according to Berlan to an "*apolitical and, basically, extraterrestrial conception of freedom*" (p.66), having led straight to the figure of the current consumer-salaried-voter, within a techno-industrial system which undermines the conditions of life on Earth of the majority of the living beings in the long run.

This said, the initial limits of the author's reasoning begin to show in this first chapter, where a persistent hatred of the individual is apparent, on the one hand by being unable to separate the liberal conception of freedom from the anarchist one (even the "classical" one, as in Bakunin for example). And on the other hand by reducing the world and its social relations (including contemporary ones) to an opposition between a pseudo "*oligarchy*" and imaginary "*popular classes*" or "*peoples*". It will surprise no one

that the term "*individualist/ism*" systematically refers to domination in Berlan's book (as does "*nihilist*"), but this is perhaps the price to pay for having overindulged in his favorite progressive philosophers, whom he follows in this respect, relying on them extensively in his book (in particular Max Weber, Georg Simmel, Karl Marx, Hannah Arendt or Simone Weil).

In his second chapter, and this is certainly the most incisive if one accepts his premises, it is on the other notion of freedom that Berlan will dwell: *that of emancipation* (of the left). In a comparison that is not novel, he will demonstrate how the attachment to the notion of "deliverance" through another path than that of the liberals (hope for a reign of machines to alleviate labor, or blind faith in industrialization) has led to the same present-day catastrophe. There are some gems in passing, such as Trotsky's fantasy of being able to transform "*the whole of nature, including its pheasants and sturgeons, by means of the machine*" (p.139), as well as a critique of Marx's impasses in this matter, or those of some of his heterodox disciples (Marcuse and Gorz), in order to arrive at this unambiguous conclusion: "*Industrialism is the continuation of slavery by other means*" (p.121). A conclusion that leads to another one, which is the subject of the third and last chapter of Aurélien Berlan: emancipation should not be the exemption from relations tasks, but the abolition of the relations of domination, *which he will name autonomy*.

Well, when one thinks that it is possible to be free in this world before having demolished it, or refers to both the material autonomy advocated for by the alternative ecologists and the political autonomy "*of the militants who with daggers drawn against the existent*" as "*vain and illusory*" (p.148), another brilliant idea to solve all of that is inevitable, no?

When your name is Aurélien Berlan, you

was the case with his thesis, the last part of which was recycled in *La Découverte* (2012), its opening in *L'Inventaire* (n°1, 2014), as well as with his participation in the *Marcuse* digital society critique group, whose first essay was published in *La Découverte* (2004) then the second in *La Lenteur* (2012/2019). And even with his most recent homework, published by *La Lenteur* (2021) alongside *Land and Freedom*, our enthusiastic partisan of material and political autonomy has just authored a work on Greenwashing published by *Seuil* (2022) with two of his Toulouse university colleagues.

In the same logic - this time more practical - our hard-working professor finds that “squatting, dumpster diving and shoplifting” are poor “short-term solutions”, and he does not hesitate to chastise those who “dream” of “never working” by labeling them as “leftists for whom freedom is identified with idleness” (pp. 14&16). He also knows how to volunteer on both sides of the barricade. When he invests himself wholeheartedly in a ZAD, such as the one against the Testet dam in Sivens (Tarn) where Rémi Fraisse was murdered by the gendarmes in 2014, Aurélien Berlan immediately publishes a collection of his pamphlets written on the spot and duly signed (*Sivens sans retenue*, *La Lenteur*, 2014). But when it comes to taking stock of it in light of the following battles, it is not to his former comrades in struggle that our immersed philosopher will stoop, of course! No, it is in the journal *Écologie & politique* (n°56, 2016) that Aurélien Berlan will present his “*Between contestation and co-management, territorial struggles going up against the State. The struggle against the Testet dam in Sivens*”. However, this institutional review is not just any review, since its director-founder-leader is a politician who has passed through all the left-wing chapels (from Trotskyism to Nicolas Hulot), without having forgotten to write directly in the offices of the Elysée a part of President Chirac’s speech delivered at the IVth Earth Summit in 2002 (“*Our house is burning and*

*we are looking the other way*”...). In short, it’s not surprising that we can read things from this ridiculous theorist out in the field like “*Even if we distrust the media and justice system, it seems strategic not to completely delegate these matters*”, or a praise of the alliance with the different authoritarian factions: “*the risk of co-managerial betrayal must not divert those contesting the project from the work of composition: because it would be to renounce the possibility that the struggle becomes a threat to power.*”

Some might be thinking that Aurélien Berlan may have put forward this fine analysis of the struggle in which he had participated through *Ecology & Politics*, but long before the scoundrel at its helm carried out his ecological duty by co-writing the speeches of heads of state. Let us simply say that the latest issue of this same journal, whose theme is *Biotechnologies, reproduction and eugenics* (n°65, November 2022), contains not only a text by *Pièces et main d’œuvre*, whose reputation on the subject is well established. ... but also a long and hopeful interview with our philosopher from Tarn: “*At the antithesis of artificial reproduction: the “respected birth*”.

But let us now close the door on the abyss opened by Berlan in the introduction to *Land and Freedom* and then abundantly extended in his presentations and interviews - namely, advocating *freedom as autonomy* rather than as deliverance, and *by the yardstick of his own practice* - in order to focus a little more on the theses of his book.

*Land and Freedom* is composed of three parts, the first of which begins with the conception of freedom held by the Moderns (i.e., the liberals) with Benjamin Constant or Isaiah Berlin as its thread, in order to demonstrate that it is now dead and buried. And this is because this classical conception of an inviolable private space has been amputated of part of its activities (by the generalization of the market econo-

climate change, the energy transition, and the restructuring of industrial capitalism? What means should we adopt in order to continue to attack in the face of the digital enclosure of the world and the surveillance that results from it? What angles and terrains of attack should we prioritize today? What forms of informal organization do we consider desirable and necessary? How can we prepare ourselves to continue to act in more unstable times, times of war, disasters or partial “collapses”? Of course, this little bulletin did not invent these questions, but we hope that we have contributed to them, even if our attempts have sometimes been clumsy or limited. And rather than seeing these questions as settled, we think that it is crucial that they be taken up and developed within the international movement, not necessarily so that everyone can arrive at the same conclusions, but at least to make the effort not to lapse into fossilization, no matter how combative it prides itself on being. This is also where we have the impression that we have reached the limit of what can be done with such a bulletin, since some insights and discussions can only continue outside of this type of instrument.

Looking back on the almost sixty issues of *Storm Warnings*, we can see how certain reflections have been sharpened, how others have been left aside along the way, and how still others have been reinforced by critical encounters with the reality of the clash. We further developed these critical encounters by trying to look beyond borders, to the dynamics of struggle and revolt that were taking place farther away from us, from the civil war in Syria to the social revolt in Chile, from the Mapuche struggle to the tough battles of the anarchists in Eastern countries and Russia. This internationalist tension corresponds to the same desire for depth that has sometimes led us to delve into the past: from the libertarian guerrilla against Francoism to rebels against the war between states. From small groups of intransigents bringing to life “*the exquisite exaltation of the rebellion of the arm and the spirit*” in South America to the clandestine struggle of the Russian anarchists against old and new powers. More than illustrations of what was, these retrospectives on uncommon experiences are in fact suggestions of what could be. Not by reproducing them identically, not by mutilating them in the form of iconography to be displayed to commemorate one’s own inaction, but as living experiences that can tie together threads that have been broken by the advances of domination.

In addition to the numerous articles written for the bulletin, translations of texts from elsewhere, book reviews, historical accounts or the trove of pearls, *Storm Warnings* has also endeavored in each issue to give an overview of the recent attacks, actions and sabotage that occurred throughout France,

*own hands. That is why it is necessary to sabotage the fossil infrastructure and make it harmless. We call to do the same and to act against the state and capital*”, says the communique, which also details a modus operandi to attack the pumping stations.

10/19, Marseille (France). Around 3am, a major sabotage of fiber optic cables disrupts local and international internet. The cables of *SFR* and *Free* on the Amsterdam-Paris-Lyon-Marseille route, the route from Barcelona and the one to Milan were cut, also affecting the delivery of Internet via the submarine cables that leave the port of Marseille to serve Asia.

26/10, Changé (France). In Mayenne, the guy wires that ensure the stability of the *TDF* cell phone antenna are cut during the night. The antenna collapses to the ground, smashing the technical room, depriving nearly 150,000 inhabitants of the four communication operators.

28/10, Tuscany (Italy) A sheath of electric cables and fiber optics is set on fire along the Florence-Pisa highway, in solidarity with Alfredo Cospito on hunger strike. “*No punishment can discourage those who live their lives to the fullest, those who know neither calculations nor compromises*” concludes the communiqué.

30/10, Poissy (France) In the Yvelines around 6:30 am, an *Orange* telecom

room located under a sidewalk is deliberately set on fire after being sprayed with gasoline. Internet is cut in the city and in the surroundings over several days.

30/10, Saint-Michel (France)  
In Charente, the deputy mayor in charge of communication and social affairs' car, parked in front of her home, goes up in smoke in the early morning.

31/10, Berlin (Germany)  
A vehicle belonging to the engineering company *GA-Tec*, owned by *Sodexo*, a major profiteer of the prison system, is set on fire. The *autonomous Anna Maria Mantini cell* claims responsibility for the attack in solidarity with Alfredo Cospito, on hunger strike in Italy against the special 41bis regime and life imprisonment: "*Solidarity also with Juan Sorroche and Ivan, who immediately joined Alfredo's struggle and are also on hunger strike. Freedom for them, as well as for Giannis Michailidis, Claudio Lavazza and Toby Shone. Victory for the Mapuche struggle! Death to the State and long live anarchy!*"

31/10, Houdelaincourt (France).  
In Meuse, *little scoundrels* set fire to the latest atmospheric station of *ANDRA*, not forgetting to sabotage its emergency power supply. "*A special thought to the comrades who are incarcerated and on hunger strike. Down with nuclear power and destroy prison!*" concludes the communiqué.

#### NOVEMBER 2022

1/11, Leipzig (Germany)  
Utility vehicles of the companies *SPIE* and *Miele* are set on fire. "*Our hearts burn for all the rebels who continue their struggle in the*

as well as in a few European countries. This chronology was certainly not intended to be exhaustive, especially since the state often has an interest in covering anonymous acts with a veil of silence. In the contemporary anarchist movement, opinions are divided as to such an approach, especially concerning actions that are not followed by a post-script claim. Without wishing to enter further into this debate, let us simply say that the bulletin has included all the attacks that inspired us for their method and for their target, whether they were claimed or not - accepting that we do not know the intentions of those who acted, and not demanding that they deliver these intentions to the light of day in order for their acts to be mentioned. There are many reasons why those who act do not explain themselves further, ranging from defensive tactics against repression, to the consideration that an explanation is redundant when the target and the method are clear. Likewise, there are many other reasons for claiming responsibility for an attack, ranging from the desire to give a wider reach to the action carried out, to the attempt to communicate with others through it. But in our view, there is really no reason to dismiss unclaimed action out of hand, or to require nocturnal saboteurs to provide a proper certificate as a *matter of principle*. Nor is there any reason to avoid thinking about this question, and to do so *constantly* in relation to our own perspectives and projectualities.

To conclude, if it has always been a pleasure to write and elaborate each issue of this bulletin, we must also say that after five years, the desire to put an end to it has arrived. A certain weariness in seeking to ensure this regularity, the sometimes difficult lack of feedback or intertwined debates, the observation of a redundancy in our ways of approaching the vast questions of action, certainly also the limits of the instrument itself, are all elements that contributed to our decision to conclude this experience of *Storm Warnings*. Such a decision might seem paradoxical, knowing that the interest and need we feel for such spaces of reflection and elaboration are still alive, but the instrument we have forged over the years does not lend itself to a new start or a new format. It seemed to us more appropriate to make it disappear, so that other projects could see the light of day.

It remains for us to thank those who have contributed to the existence of this bulletin, who have nourished it, distributed it and discussed it, who have criticized it without pretending it didn't exist, who have translated articles or entire issues into other languages, who have managed to

another comrade who is translated in this book suggested.

For indeed, how can we imagine freedom when we have only known cages, if not by starting to feel it now through the destruction of these very cages, without waiting for an uprising here or elsewhere to come and catch us off guard once again. Otherwise, the only thing left for the insurgents to imagine is a sad, unimaginative taking up of arms without follow through on the level of ideas, or the simple project of providing for their future material needs, even before having explored the full extent of *negation*. But this is perhaps also and above all a question of perspective.



Aurélien Berlan, **Land and Freedom: The quest for autonomy versus the fantasy of deliverance**, La Lenteur Editions (Saint-Michel-de-Vax), November 2021, 218 p.

After learning that this book was often a hit in certain countryside discussions, we got a copy with a bit of a delay. Of course, we could have known of its existence as early as last February, if we had taken the trouble to open the pages of *Libération*. An advertorial displays Mr. Berlan posing in front of his huge yurt, into which he had warmly welcomed the journalists to tell them about his life. But we don't read *Libé*. Of course, we could have already come across one of his interviews in *Reporterre*, where he explained to us that "*it's not about stigmatizing ways of life, but about understanding how the capitalist system holds us captive, and how to regain freedom: by collectively building struggles and offensive alternatives*" (January 2022). Or again, that "*we must also change the rules of the game: oppose the destruction of public services, defend access to certain common resources, etc. If we don't oppose, for example, the legislative barriers that prevent new farmers from acquiring land and setting up shop, or if we don't fight against the import*

*of fruits and vegetables sold at rock-bottom costs, it would be self-sacrificial to embark on these alternatives.*" (September 2022). But given that we have no interest in these alternatives - even offensive - nor the defense of social welfare State, nor the modification of its laws or of those of the market, it perhaps makes sense why we did not take an earlier look at *Land and Freedom*.

But let's happily move along, starting with one of the most annoying aspects of Aurélien Berlan's great work, to which he devoted the last ten years of his life, passed between lecturing at the University of Toulouse and a "*home with friends in the countryside*" with the purchase of a house (p.15), which allowed him to participate "*on an equal footing with [his] close ones in the production of [their] communal subsistence*" (p.137).

One could retort that one would not care about the details of Berlan's little life, if it were not for the fact that the "*gardener-philosopher*" himself makes a constant display of it in the form of being an authority on the matter, in a treatise talking about the precise question of freedom and autonomy. It is as if he is constantly afraid of the relevance of his theses, which intend to break with the historical dogma of industrialization (and technology) as a driving force of progress and emancipation, and has found no other way to help his readers than to proclaim: "Yes, it is possible to do it differently, gaze at my navel!" However, the man who refers to himself a "*left-wing intellectual*" (p.140) is not the best advocate for his argument, as shown by the ease with which he moves within the alternative tendency.

On the one hand, the academic participates, for example, in an autonomous publishing collective, *La Lenteur* (which also publishes the journal *L'Inventaire*), when he wishes to address the militant milieu. On the other hand, he regularly feeds the left-wing cultural industry, when the need to be an advisor to the prince becomes too pressing. This

attacked two telecommunications sites, for a total of six base stations" with tires and gasoline. "Alongside Alfredo and the other comrades who have launched a hunger strike in solidarity with him! With comrades all over the world: in prison, on the streets, on the run! Long live the adventure! Long live the attack! Long live anarchy!"

18/12, Saint-Just-et-Vacquières (France)  
Resistance fighters claim to have sawed the crossbeams and feet of a 225,000 volts pylon of the line feeding the chemical-industrial pole of Salindres (Gard) where the company Arkema is located. "Let's attack the companies that poison the earth! Whether in large groups during occupations/demonstrations or in small groups during sabotage/arsons. Strength to the individuals in struggle in France, Germany and elsewhere. If the targets have been too well protected, attacking the electricity allows you to cut upstream, while putting yourself in less danger. Let's go on the offensive! Occupations, sabotage, arsons... We are not defending nature, we are nature defending itself" says the communique, which also provides an instructional procedure to bring down these steel monsters.

19/12, Vitrolles (France)  
In the Bouches-du-Rhône region, two high-voltage pylons several dozen meters apart are deliberately set on fire during the night. This sabotage affected 9000 houses in the area, but above all cut off the power to part of the Marseille-Marignane airport and to the arms manufacturer Airbus Helicopters.

ing a living from agriculture... Our investigation confirms that state enterprises were the main target of the attacks... for example public services, chemical factories, mines and state banks were systematically destroyed or severely damaged. On the other hand, beyond this anticipated result, we see that private companies have also been heavily affected. In particular those controlled by foreigners [often Italian in search of low-cost labor] have been largely destroyed... [In terms of sectors], we find that companies specializing in labor-intensive activities - such as mining, textiles in industry, and telecommunications in services - have especially been the object of protesters' anger: 97% of mines and 77% of telecommunications companies have suffered significant damage during the crisis."

To conclude, we have one last point to address. So many questions are raised by the recounting of this brief two-month insurrection (alongside the translation of the joyful account of Greek comrades who went there at the time, pp. 78-101): how and why did it all stop? Why did the insurgents not, for example, march on the capital Tirana to bring down the regime for good, instead giving it time to reassemble itself by allying with its main opposition party (the Socialist Party) and calling for a UN humanitarian-military intervention to come to its rescue? How is it that the momentum was suddenly halted for this half of the population which was literally armed (women had no access to arms, which opens another abyss of questions) and trained in the use of these weapons (the insurgents' arsenal in this small country of 3 million inhabitants with its mountainous terrain included 100,000 Kalashnikovs, missiles of all kinds and 80 tanks, plus 30 fighter jets and half of the navy vessels)?

One could for example stress, as an old anarchist pamphlet did, that "any demand addressed to a precise interlocutor carries in itself its own defeat". Or that accepting the emergence of leaders and organs of counter-power - including collective ones such as the *Public Safety Committees* that formed in Albania, which spoke in the name of all and began to manage a semblance of order - marks from the outset the emergence of an authority and thus of an internal enemy to the movement. Or that "if the Albanian insurgents posed a single social question that went beyond the national sphere, their movement could cross borders" (p. 151 ). Or that it is important to establish international links and coordination in other geographical points besides the one that the insurrectional focus will emerge from, in order to be able to extend it and immediately give it a breath of fresh air, as

find ways to send us feedback and suggestions, in the course of an adventure that has become much more than just ours since that distant and stormy fall.



dungeons of the state. They burn for Alfredo and Juan, on hunger strike in Italy. They burn for Giannis Michailidis who, from May to July of this year, made a hunger strike that he unfortunately had to interrupt without success."

1/11, Athens (Greece)  
Three of the *Davoutis* company's refrigerated trucks, parked in front of their slaughterhouse, are set on fire. "With this action we want to contribute to the enlargement of the struggle for freedom and to the enrichment of its perspectives and practices. We want to position it within the resistance against the plundering of nature, and the targeting and sabotage of structures that enrich themselves with the torture and mass extermination of non-human animals."

3/11, Gruliasco (Italy)  
A 5G cell phone antenna is set on fire near Turin. "Alfredo Cospito out of the 4 1bis. 4 1bis = torture! for anarchy" says the communiqué.

4/11, Leipzig (Germany)  
Two excavators of the construction company *Hentschke* are set on fire on a railway site. This company is regularly targeted for its participation in the construction of the new prison in Zwickau.

5/11, Trambileno (Italy)  
In Trentino, a cell phone antenna of the operators *Tim* and *Vodafone* goes up in smoke in the night around 4:30 am. The tags "Freedom for all" and "With Alfredo on hunger strike. No to 4 1bis" are found on the structure.

6/11, Saoû (France)  
In the Drôme, the *TDF* cell phone antenna is burned during the night, depriving hundreds of customers of *Orange*, *Free* and *SFR* of connection for more than fifteen days.

6/11, Rome (Italy)

Several high-speed train lines, but not only, are sabotaged in different places of the city, slowing down their circulation, while tags against the 41bis regime are left on the spot. "Alfredo out of 41bis / close 41bis / with Juan, Anna, Ivan and all anarchist prisoners / long live direct action / long live anarchy" concludes the communiqué.

7/11, Moselle (France)

During the same evening, between 7 and 8 PM, the three cell phone antennas of the villages of Veckring, Buding and Monneren are each taken out with a flaming tire that destroys their electrical and technical cabinets. It will take several weeks to reconnect all four operators.

8/11, Roches-Prémarie (France)

In Vienne, less than a week after the finalization of the construction project for 30 basins in the department, one of them is sabotaged during the night: 170 linear meters of the tarpaulin which guarantees the watertightness of the basin are lacerated.

8/11, Leipzig (Germany)

Ten vans of the real estate giant *Vonovia* go up in smoke in the district of Sellerhausen-Stüntz in the middle of the night.

9/11, Les Déserts (France)

In Savoie, the cabin housing the electrical installations of the Ebats chairlift, in the Grand Revard ski resort, is deliberately set on fire around 4 am. It will not be able to reopen before February 2023, causing considerable losses for the resort.



## | Zines, books & journals |

### **Albania 1997, a forgotten insurrection?**

l'Asymétrie Editions (Toulouse), November 2022, 194 p.

At the beginning of 1920, two years after the various armistices that marked the end of the First World War, most of the territory of Albania was still partially occupied by the Italian army, which intended to make it a colonial protectorate. However, the night of June 26 was a game-changer. An entire regiment of *Bersaglieri* mutinied, seizing their barracks in Ancona, and refusing to embark for Vlora to go and quell the Albanian rebellion. Supported by anarchists and socialists in a city on general strike and quickly overrun with barricades, the mutineers and subversives of Ancona confronted police, carabinieri and military officers who had come from Rome as reinforcements, before being crushed three days later under the bombardment of five destroyers. But Ancona was not alone, and the uprising quickly spread to dozens of towns along the Adriatic coast in the Marche region, as well as in Romagna and Umbria, in solidarity with this regiment's stubborn refusal to leave for Albania, and in order to obtain the repatriation of all the soldiers who had already left.

Indefinite general strikes were also launched in Milan, Cremona and Rome, despite the opposition of the Socialist Party (from which the *Communist Party of Italy* would emerge six months later) and its union, hostile to spontaneous movements over which they had no control. Railway lines were blocked or sabotaged to prevent the arrival of military reinforcements in the region, while in Ancona itself, insurgents blocked the train of Royal Guard soldiers on the outskirts of the city, managing to dispose of some of them by shooting through the windows of the wagons. In Pesaro, insurgents stormed the barracks to rally the conscripts to the uprising, leading to the burning of the commander's

ated Kalashnikovs, stormed the courthouse and the prison, where they freed a hundred prisoners. The same day in Gjirokastër, a crowd stormed the police station, helped themselves to weapons, freed the fifteen or so prisoners, then set fire to the building. In Shkodër, the largest city in the north, the uprising exploded on 12 March. The barracks were besieged and then abandoned by the soldiers, enabling the insurgents to use dynamite to attack the jail and free the prisoners, before ransacking the courthouse and blowing up bank branches. Finally, in the capital Tirana on 13 March, where tanks were deployed in the area of the presidential palace and where gunfire was incessant, the frightened guards gradually abandoned their posts and the 600 prisoners managed to escape.

In addition to the extensive and detailed chronology of the 1997 Albanian uprising (including as it ebbed, when there was a targeted and continuous use of expropriated explosives against the homes of various authorities), the book also contains a conclusion by the editors about the "modernity" of this uprising. An interesting overview of Albanian writing published on the subject is also included, showing how these texts may have been buried since then, or deflected in their own context. In addition to these complementary elements, it's worth mentioning the presence at the very end of the chronology of a sort of assessment of the economic destruction (pp. 69-71), translated from a book written by an official of the *International Labor Organization* (ILO) who has endeavored to investigate the issue. To avoid helping those who would describe us as hopeless anarchists who dwell more on the destruction of prisons than on that of the productive apparatus, let us say without hesitation that these few pages from some technocrat have fascinated us more than the dozens and dozens of others in *Albania 1997*, made up of texts by anti-authoritarian communists who analyzed these events in the heat of the moment (even if we suspect that the editors' cup of tea goes more in that direction).

To show the eminently "modern" character of this insurrection, in the sense that it mercilessly destroyed the techno-industrial apparatus without trying to manage it, we will present some significant excerpts that make us want to know more, even if the editors have probably reproduced these passages especially to demonstrate the "classist" character of this insurrection: "*Undeniably, an important aspect of this crisis [sic] is its great reach, involving all regions, cities and areas of Albania. Large-scale destruction in rural areas also reflected the general unease among people mak-*

belonging to Susanna Schlein, the number 2 of the Italian embassy in Greece, is set on fire in front of her home. Under another service vehicle of the embassy, an incendiary device is found. The attack is claimed by the *Nucleus of Vengeance Carlo Giuliani* in solidarity with Alfredo Cospito in hunger strike: "*In a spirit of social revolution and internationalist solidarity, we have decided to send our signal of solidarity to the comrade and to the fight that he leads against the regime 41bis.*"

8/12, Escalquens (France)

In Haute-Garonne, a 5G cell phone antenna goes up in smoke and two others are damaged around 1am, with flammable liquid introduced into their electrical boxes.

11/12, Madrid (Spain)

A charging station for electric vehicles is burned in solidarity with Alfredo Cospito.

11/12, East of France

In solidarity with Alfredo Cospito, the *Pylon Disconnection Service Of All Kinds* sabotages one on the Fessenheim-Paris high-voltage line, whose route is to feed CIGEO, by unscrewing several of its bolts. "*A loving embrace across seas, borders and walls. For all the prisoners in struggle! Solidarity means attack!*" concludes the communiqué.

14/12, Athens (Greece)

Arson attack against a vehicle of the company *Hertz*, service provider of the Hellenic police. "*Long live anarchy!*" concludes the claim.

17/12, Italy

A communiqué claims to have "*on an adventurous winter night*

Kreutzberg district, "in solidarity with the hunger strike of Alfredo, Juan, Anna and Ivan."

Late November, Fivizzano (Italy)  
The *Informal Anarchist Conspiracy* claims the complete arson of four *Caterpillar* construction machines in the Walton marble quarry of Castelbaita (Massa and Carrara region). "Through this action, we salute all the comrades who are imprisoned. In particular Alfredo, Anna, Juan and Ivan."

## DECEMBER 2022

1/12, Salzburg (Austria).  
A vehicle of the company G4S is set on fire during the night. "This is an act of solidarity with the anarchist prisoners Alfredo, Anna, Juan, Toby and Ivan. G4S is an active profiteer of prisons and runs prisons in the UK, Australia and South Africa."

1/12, Piedmont (Italy)  
The high-speed train line (Tav) is sabotaged on the Turin-Chivasso section by burning several cables. "Alfredo out of the 41bis! With Juan, Anna and Ivan. Less words, more unpredictable and incisive actions; strike where it hurts most, with direct actions in the darkness of the night!" conclude the *Anarchist Individualities*.

1/12 Berlin (Germany)  
Two police vans are set on fire around 3 am in front of the Neukölln police station. "We dedicate our action to Alfredo, Anna, Juan and Ivan. (...) These flames are also an expression of the flame of rage that burns under our skin after the racist murders committed by the pigs in recent months."

2/12, Athens, Greece  
During the night, the vehicle

In this case, as in others, it must be admitted that one of the calling cards that are left by the insurrections of history is that the acts of insurgents are sometimes more profound than their words. And for those comrades who have the example of the Spanish revolution of 1936 on their lips, where the libertarian ideal was finally able to resonate in tandem with acts, let's just say that in the part of the territory held by the revolutionaries, not only were the prisons refilled, but they were also officially headed by a minister from the CNT (García Oliver, assisted by his *Special Delegate for Prisons*, also from the CNT, Melchor Rodríguez). Where the Albanian insurgents did not delight in lofty ideals, the jails were systematically emptied without checking criminal records or putting their enemies back in. Moreover, it should be noted that although there were sometimes heavy clashes with armored columns of loyal soldiers trying to retake towns and villages, or during counter-insurgency operations carried out inside them by the secret police (as in Vlora), the fate of these enemies could be summed up in two ways: either they were killed, or they were stripped naked before they had to flee and disappear into the crowd or the countryside. In any case, the atrocity of imprisonment was not recreated by the Albanian insurgents (after decades of communist dictatorship and six years of authoritarian democracy) following the release of all 1300 prisoners in the country.

In May 1997, during the ebb of the insurgency, one official complained that it would be difficult to find the prisoners anyway, because "before leaving the buildings, the escapees took care to burn their files and then set fire to the buildings [prisons, courts] themselves" (p.64). We will leave it to our readers to ponder how property deeds, civil status files and other judicial files, which still await being set on fire during an insurrection, are now stored in digital form in data centers, in a more or less centralized manner (national security obliges), and to explore the question themselves of how to disconnect this data from any authority (even insurgent ones).

Finally, in order to avoid mythologizing the history and to make one last use of the beautiful chronology in this book, here is what happened on this subject: on March 2 in Sarandë, 3000 furious demonstrators armed with sticks confronted a police force that fled when faced with their determination, then the police station was looted and set on fire, likewise for the headquarters of the intelligence services (SHIK). This time the insurgents, armed with 400 expropri-

house and the occupation of the gunpowder depot.

On August 2, 1920, unable to deal with two fronts at once (internal and external), the Italian government eventually decided to withdraw its 20,000 soldiers from Albania. The mutineer who received the heaviest sentence was Monaldo Casagrande, an anarchist mason who was conscripted at the time and accused of having led the revolt inside the barracks in Ancona. He was arrested in Genoa, where he had fled to, and was sentenced to seven years in prison. The other comrade was Antonio Cieri - whose head the authorities wanted - but they failed to convict him at trial. He was an anarchist railway worker who coordinated the mutineers and the railway blockades in the city. After being transferred to Parma, he successfully defended the workers' neighborhoods in August 1922 with the *Arditi del Popolo* against fascist squads, before going into exile in the outskirts of Paris. After joining the anarchist *Ascaso* column in Spain in 1936, he died there the following year during the capture of Huesca.

As far as Albania is concerned, it's important to mention that in April 1939, five months before the outbreak of the Second World War, Mussolini sent an expeditionary force of 100,000 men there and seized the country in one week. It became an Italian protectorate until the fall of black fascism in 1943, before being ruled with an iron fist by Enver Hoxha's red fascism from 1944 to... 1985.

When we stumbled upon *Albania 1997, a forgotten insurrection*, we did not expect to find any reference to the 1920 uprising against the invasion of Italian troops in Albania. A tenuous thread does exist, since a force of 6,000 multinational soldiers under Italian command was dispatched to put an end to the Albanian uprising of March-April 1997, landing in the same port of Vlora all those decades later. But after publishing works such as *The General Theory of Law and Marxism* (2018) or *The Last Marx* (2019), we were not surprised that the editors opted to introduce the book with an anachronistic and recycled thesis of the *Situationist International* about... the Paris Commune. But let's move on, since the editors of *Albania 1997*, who had exhumed the excellent Arab surrealist journal *Le Désir Libertaire*, also wanted to pay homage "to a certain 'autonomia syncretism' from which *l'Asymétrie Editions* 'originated'", by deciding to publish several contemporary anarchist texts on this Albanian insurrection.

10/11, Toulouse (France)  
In Haute-Garonne, a new charging station for electric cars is set on fire on Boulevard de Suisse. "We do not see a transition but an accumulation of energy resources whose exploitation conditions the survival of this shitty system", says the communiqué.

11/11, Saint-Thibaud-de-Couz (France).  
The 5G relay antenna which was used by four cell phone operators goes up in smoke around 5 am, after the padlock of the gate was cut, then wood accumulated at the foot of the tower. The villages of the area return to a complete blackout for at least a month.

11/11, Trento (Italy)  
The *Deutsche Bank* branch has its windows smashed in the city center, with the tags "with Alfredo on hunger strike". "Alongside Juan, Alfredo, Anna and Ivan. Courage!" says the communiqué.

12/11, Inzizac-Lochrist (France)  
In Morbihan, the cables of the stadium's pylon hosting an *Orange* antenna at its top are set on fire in the early evening. The telephone and internet networks are disrupted for several weeks.

12/11, Milan (Italy)  
The windows and cash dispensers of *Unicredit*, *Benetton*, and *Banca Popolare di Milano* are broken in the night. "A complicit greeting to the Mapuche people in struggle / Against the 41bis, the incompressible life and any prison / For the anarchy" concludes the communiqué.

13/11, Chalon-sur-Saône (France)  
In Saône-et-Loire, two vehicles of the *Judicial Youth Protection*

(PJJ) go up in smoke shortly before midnight, as well as all its premises. A young man followed by these judicial services was incarcerated four days later.

13/11, Taggia (Italy)  
In Liguria, around 3 a.m., eight trucks and the warehouse of the company *Marr*, a supplier of food for prisons and detention centers, go up in smoke. "*Marr=profits on the backs of the incarcerated / 4 1bis=prison=torture/Give strength to Alfredo, Anna, Ivan, Juan and Toby! / For anarchy!*" concludes the communique published two weeks later.

15/11, Perpignan (France)  
In the Pyrenees-Orientales, a riot broke out in the detention center (CRA) around 7 pm, where mattresses and furniture were set on fire in three of the four buildings. The fires were not brought under control until around 2:00 am by the fire department.

15/11, Athens, Greece  
Arson attack in the district of Gyzi against a truck of the company *DB Schenker*, which supplies logistic services to the German army, and takes part in a development project of the railroads in Mexico, in particular in Chiapas, at the expense of the indigenous communities. Claimed by *anarchists*.

17/11, Landes (France)  
Around 3am, three cell phone antennas go up in smoke in Habas, Pouillon and Cauneille, after access to their electrical boxes had been forced.

19/11, Munich (Germany)  
Two military vehicles were set on fire around 1:30 am in the parking lot of the German Army

Before arriving at the various texts that make up this book, it's worth noting that they are preceded by a long chronology established from numerous sources, including revolutionary publications of the period as well as the Albanian or international opposition publications, and even dispatches from the telegraphic agency of the regime in place. It is a very dense chronology spread over sixty pages, which will certainly frighten those who are resistant to this format. However, its precision and abundance will also amaze amateurs of the exercise like us, as it enables the reappropriation of diverse elements that are well suited for nourishing insurrectionary reflection.

With a situation which is presented in an *old school* and very "classic" way (a banal spark makes the population rise up against the regime, involving the seizure of barracks, destruction of factories, liberation of prisoners and the formation of local committees that coordinate themselves), this insurrection could perhaps seem distant to the reader. But paradoxically, it is neither distant in space (we are in the heart of Europe, with its issues integrating the formerly Eastern countries) nor in time (it even opened a "*new era of struggles across the world*" according to the editors, those at the turn of the 21st century). And if we don't count ourselves among the happy idiots who analyze an insurrection by surmising that there was only one possible path leading from its explosion to it being crushed or recuperated, *Albania 1997* seems to be an important book in terms of drawing out real experiences that are still relevant today.

First of all, and this is clear from the chronology, the triggering event for this kind of moment, which can reshuffle the cards or threaten to blow the whole game wide open, regularly occurs in history under banal, even sometimes confused initial pretexts. Beware then of Leninist or anarchist ideologues who expect future insurgents to storm in with a slick "class consciousness" like an authoritarian party, or with a crystal-clear anti-authoritarian "imaginary". In this case, it was not the desire to take back "the commons", to establish "communes" or to return to "communism" (which is, in reality, state capitalism and they had already been subjected to too much of it) that was the trigger for the Albanian insurrection of 1997. It was simply the desire to recover all their savings that were placed in pyramid schemes, savings that had vanished overnight when the schemes collapsed. Yes, it was from *this* starting point that the barracks were looted and the population armed itself. Or more precisely, it was the collapse of the pyramid schemes that detonated the powderkeg of accumulated discontent.

And even that is not so simple, because before arriving at this generalized arming against the state and a slogan like "our money and *Berisha's head*" (the name of the Albanian democratic President then praised by the IMF and the European Union) which accelerated the course of events, blood had to be shed at the start with the repression of the first angry demonstrations. It was necessary to thwart all the discursive traps set by the regime and its propaganda, which played on a number of false promises (regularly setting new reimbursement deadlines), but also on fears (the return of the dictatorship) or on artificial divisions (the South of the country against the North). It was also necessary to defy unofficial authorities calling for "non-violence", whether they were intellectuals, opposition leaders, or the intervention of the highest authorities of the three religions (Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim), whose calls were broadcast on television for days. One can therefore be enthralled, for example, by the famous Paris Commune, forgetting that it also started from a nationalistic refusal of the surrender proposed by the government in response to a Prussian invasion. Just as one can note that it is the insurrectionary process itself that transforms social relations by suspending the clocks of domination and opening space for possibility.

Or, as a comrade translated in *Albania 1997* put it: "*I have listened to the admonishments of some revolutionaries who do not understand what "vitality" a revolt born of the desire to regain possession of one's money could have. It is clear that they do not understand the objective and subjective mechanisms that foster surprise, frustration, indignation, hatred, revolt and generalized insurrection. I am not saying that there are models to grasp these mechanisms with certainty. When a rift opens, everything surges out uncontrollably, and that is what happened. Insurrection is not a "pure" event. It cannot be thought of as a linear process in time, which develops and grows until the victory (but which victory?)*" (p. 143).

Indeed, *despite* tame slogans holding the President *personally* responsible for the collapse of the pyramid schemes, followed by a series of demands from local committees that were also rather dull (such as the formation of a new so-called "technical" government) *except on the point of surrendering arms*, after three weeks this situation described by the central director of the Albanian prisons was reached: "*the seven prisons that Albania has are completely empty after the latest invasion of the one where death row inmates and others were held. Albania is now the only country in the world with no prisoners at all*" (p. 55).

University in the Neuberg district.

22/11, Toulouse (France)  
In Haute-Garonne, three 4x4s are deliberately set on fire in a *Jeep* dealership around 3 am near Balma. "*Happy birthday Yellow Vests, against the Low Emission Zone and their hyper-connected city. We are here*" concludes the communiqué.

23/11, Varedo (Italy)  
In the region of Milan, the windows of the local of the party *La Lega* are broken in solidarity with Alfredo Cospito on hunger strike and the other incarcerated anarchists who support him. "*No repression will be able to stop the anarchist conflict*" concludes the communiqué.

24/11, Madrid (Spain)  
The windows of an office of the energy company *Endesa*, which belongs to the Italian multinational *Enel*, are broken. "*In solidarity with Alfredo Cospito, Anna, Ivan, Juan... / Against the 4 1bis, against all the prisons!*" concludes the communiqué of this attack, carried out the previous week.

26/11, Carasco (Italy)  
Near Genoa, eight refrigerated trucks of the supplier of prisons *Marr* go up in smoke shortly before 8 pm. This attack will be claimed some weeks later in solidarity with Alfredo Cospito, as well as with "*Anna, Ivan, Juan and Toby, in struggle from the inside at his side*", as well as with the comrade Michailidis and Turkish prisoners on hunger strike in Greece.

30/11, Berlin (Germany)  
An ATM is set on fire in the